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(Figures 1–1)

Mobility and Persistence of Families in Cheriton Bishop

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This paper uses the names on the 1332 and 1525 Lay Subsidy lists, 1641 Protestation Returns, 1660 Poll-tax list and 1821 census (for which, unusually, full returns have survived) to make deductions on the mobility and persistence of families in a smallish mid-Devon village. It also attempts to differentiate trends on the basis of social status. A high degree of turnover is indicated for the period between 1525 and 1660, in particular during the period 1641–1660. The 1660–1825 period showed more stability, with a quarter of the 1660 names still represented in 1825. There is only a fairly slight propensity for lesser mobility among those of higher social status. The article also briefly discusses the origin of the names and the gradual diminution in the proportion of locative names.

There is a popular image of rural England before the industrial revolution as a timeless and changeless place, with a high degree of social stability and a largely static society, in which the squire in his manor-house and the yeoman on his farm passed on their land, generation after generation, and people born in a village rarely ventured far from their birth-place. Given Devon's relative agricultural prosperity, and also the notoriously execrable state of its roads in days gone by, it would seem a county where such a picture would be most likely to be true. There are, moreover, a number of anecdotes about yeoman families staying for centuries on the same farm. W. G. Hoskins (1959) cites the Reddaway and Seccombe families, both in the 1950s still farming the eponymous farms in Sampford Courtenay and Germansweek that they held in the thirteenth century; and my own yeoman forbears are also documented in Cheriton Bishop from the thirteenth century to the twentieth century.

The true picture can never be wholly established, as the comprehensive census began only in the nineteenth century. But there are some earlier – albeit less complete – lists of inhabitants by parish, mainly

made for tax collection purposes. It therefore seemed worth looking at such lists of inhabitants as have survived for a fairly typical Devon village like Cheriton Bishop to see what trends could be deduced from the names that appear on each of the lists; and also to test the assumption that those with ties to the land (insofar as it is possible to distinguish them) were less likely to move about. Names themselves tell one a certain amount about the origins of families, especially when surnames are based on places, and this paper therefore concludes with a brief discussion of the origins and distribution of, in particular, the 'locative' surnames that were common in Cheriton Bishop.

Focusing on a single village must limit any attempt to infer general or even regional trends. It also means that little account can be taken of how far families move – there is quite a lot of evidence to suggest that much movement was extremely local, more often than not only to a neighbouring parish. Looking at a block of parishes would give much more illuminating results, and maybe this is something that could be attempted in the future.

THE PARISH

Cheriton Bishop is a typical mid-Devon rural parish, about six miles from the market town of Crediton and near the northern fringes of Dartmoor, consisting originally of a village round the church and a number of scattered outlying hamlets, cottages and often remote farmhouses. The parish contained a number of small manors, so there was never any one dominant landowner. There also seem from early times to have been some freeholders.

Like most villages of its kind, Cheriton Bishop was in the past almost entirely dependent on agriculture. While the soil is not as good as the neighbouring Crediton redlands, it is mostly reasonable clay-land. Its hamlets of Cheriton Cross (now bigger than the old 'Cheriton Town') and Crockernwell are situated on the old A30 Exeter-Okehampton road (Fig. 1). Until the development of coaching traffic in the second half of the eighteenth century, however, the main road from Exeter to Okehampton was through Crediton and Bow and the Cheriton Cross/Crockernwell route was probably little used for other than local traffic (Ogilby, the great seventeenth-century maker of road-maps, mapped four other routes radiating west out of Exeter, but not this one). Cheriton Bishop was not therefore a village in which one would expect particular population movement.

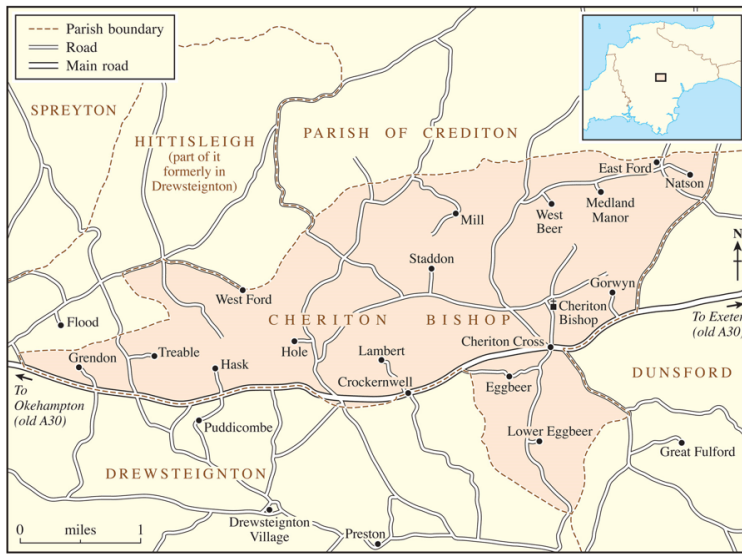

Figure 1. *The Parish of Cheriton Bishop, Devon.*

The size of the early population is difficult to assess. But the lists indicate an increasing population from the early-sixteenth century to the early-nineteenth century. In 1525, the population was probably around 300. By 1821 this had grown to 752 people enumerated in 150 households.

THE RECORDS

The parish is lucky to have good records of the people who paid the Lay Subsidies in 1524/5 and 1544; who signed the Protestation Returns in 1641; and who paid the 1660 Poll Tax. The Devon Record Office has also recently transcribed the list of Cheriton Bishop residents who signed the Oath of Loyalty in 1723. Unusually, full 1821 census returns have survived for Cheriton Bishop, one of only thirteen such survivals for Devon parishes from pre-1841 censuses (which normally listed only numbers of people and households in each village). The table (Table 3) at the end of this paper gives the family names that appear in each of these lists.

There are some earlier lists of taxpayers. None have comprehensive information by parish. However, the 1332 Lay Subsidy lists tax-payers by 'tything', and information has survived for the four tythings – Cheriton, Eggbeare, Midlond and Lamford – that correspond roughly to the parish of Cheriton Bishop. I have not included the 1332 data in Table 3, partly because the tax was payable by only the most prosperous residents and so very limited in coverage, and partly because at that time many families did not yet have heritable surnames. But I do briefly discuss below such trends as can be elicited from this data source.

There are also problems with the later data. Above all, the lists are not strictly comparable as they were compiled for different purposes and cover different categories of people. The Lay Subsidies applied only to people with goods or wages over a certain amount, so probably omitted a significant portion of the population – although the threshold at £1 for wages was pretty low; W.G. Hoskins (1976) calculated that a labourer could at that period expect to earn around 50s a year. The 1641 Protestation Returns were signed only by males of eighteen and over. The 1660 Poll Tax applied to everybody of 16 and over. Only about 20 per cent of the adult population of Devon signed the Oath of Loyalty, so its coverage is strictly limited (and I have included it in Table 3 below only for the sake of completeness and because there is no other useful eighteenth-century source). The 1821 census covered the entire population, including children, so included a much larger number of people than any of the other sources. There are other minor problems: families did occasionally change their name; some names are so common that one cannot be sure that people sharing them are of the same family; and a few of the names, especially for the 1660 Poll Tax, are missing or completely illegible. Many are difficult to read and so may have been mis-transcribed (except for the 1641 Protestation Returns, I have relied solely on published transcriptions). Inevitably, a certain amount of guesswork has been needed. There are clearly also problems in using names as proxies for families. For instance, it is almost impossible in the earlier lists to distinguish between true families and single people such as itinerant day labourers whose presence in a parish is by definition likely to be ephemeral. Female marriage migration is also largely disguised because of new wives being recorded under their husbands' names. Nevertheless, I believe that the lists in Table 3 give enough

information to infer at least some broad trends with a reasonable degree of reliability over the 300-odd years between the 1524/5 Lay Subsidy and the 1821 census.

The names in Table 3 have been listed alphabetically. The spelling of names was erratic before the eighteenth century, so it is not always possible to know whether a name on one list is the same as a similar name on another. Here also guesswork has been necessary and errors may have crept in (I have guessed, for instance, that Blanchyard morphed to Blanchford; and Maior to Mare, but this could be quite wrong).

I have excluded children under sixteen years old from the 1821 census list so as to make it more comparable to the other lists (the under-16s include not just children living at home but 50 apprentices ranging down to the age of eight). I have also excluded from the 1821 list the few people described as visitors. So as to give some idea of the size of families, on each list the figures in brackets show how many people of that name appear on the list concerned.

Some information on status can be gleaned from the lists. In 1524/5 the richer paid more tax and I have somewhat arbitrarily chosen to mark out as of higher status all those with goods or wages of £4 or more. The compilers of the 1641 Protestation Returns for Cheriton Bishop, unlike many of their peers, went round and got everybody to sign or make their mark, thus revealing who was literate. Those taking the 1723 oath also either signed or made a mark. The 1660 Poll Tax applied at a higher rate to people who owned property or had an income above a certain value, and those paying the higher rate are identified on the list. The 1821 census returns give the occupations of the heads of household. Most were agricultural labourers, craftsmen and servants; at the top of the economic pile were the farmers, farming either their own or rented land. For each of the lists, therefore, I have inserted asterisks against the names of those who by virtue of their wealth, income, landholding or literacy can be assumed to have been at the higher end of the local economic and social scale. I have worked on the assumption that these mainly represent the yeoman farming families. But any deductions on status based on tax paid or literacy must be fraught with uncertainty. There is almost certainly overlap with the richer tradesmen and, in particular, some poorer farmers probably fall below my chosen thresholds (many yeoman farmers, for instance, were probably illiterate in 1641).

TRENDS BETWEEN 1332 AND 1524

There were sixteen taxpayers in the four tythings corresponding to Cheriton Bishop. As pointed out above, the threshold set for the tax means that they must all be from the wealthiest section of the community, so the list by no means represents the community as a whole. The sixteen were:

Tything of Cheriton

John atte Mill (Cheriton Bishop is well-supplied with streams and had a number of mills, but his mill may have been that which subsequently became the farm of Mill, north of Staddon)
John atte Stoddon (present-day Staddon)

Tything of Eggbeare

Ralph Portere
William Gorfenne (present-day Gorwyn)
Margaret Kelly
Roger Gille

Tything of Midlond

Matthew atte Ford (probably the present-day East Ford)
John atte Bear (possibly the present West Beer)
William Knouston
William de Gnatisdon (present-day Natson)

Lamford

Antoninus de Lamford (present-day Lambert)
Robert atte Huske (Hask, a farm that has now disappeared)
Richard Triffebele (present-day Treable)
John atte Hole (probably present-day Hole Farm)
John atte Byare
Richard Eyr atte Ford (probably the present-day West Ford)

There are indications that even in the early-fourteenth century there was quite a lot of movement among the more prosperous landholders. Margaret Kelly, for instance, must have been a member (or the widow of a member) of the Kelly family of Kelly in West Devon who held

a number of manors in Devon, including Eggbeer. Her presence in the tything of Eggbeare presumably reflects the handing over of that manor to a junior branch of the family who took up residence there (a branch that appears to have died out by the end of the fifteenth century). William Knouston, the biggest tax-payer in the area, may have come from Knowstone, about twenty miles to the north. Both the Gorfennes and the Triffebeles (both names sufficiently unusual for it to be likely that others bearing the name are related to them) seem also to have exported members to other parishes by the early-fourteenth century, as there was a Gorfenne on the 1332 list of tax-payers in Winkleigh (thirteen miles away) and a Trefebele on the 1327 list for South Tawton (seven miles away).

Of all the above names, only Gorfenne (transmuted into Gorven) is found in the sixteenth-century lists in Cheriton Bishop, although there is a Knyston family (presumably from Knouston) in Crediton or nearby Sandford at least until 1660; and there were Trebells in the sixteenth century in a clutch of South Devon parishes. It is difficult to tell what happened to the other families as the names that they used to describe themselves are common ones, replicated in many other parishes. Many families may have disappeared in the Black Death, and no doubt others moved in to take over vacant farms (quite a few of the names that turn up in Cheriton Bishop in the sixteenth-century lists are listed in nearby tythings in 1332).

Insofar as the Gorfennes and Triffebeles can be traced, it is interesting to note that, while both families were probably of similar social status in 1332, their later histories diverge sharply. The Gorfennes/Gorvens/Gorwyns, presumably lucky survivors in Cheriton Bishop of the Black Death, were by 1524 the largest family (numerically) in Cheriton Bishop, a position they were near to retaining until the mid-nineteenth century. Throughout, they remained prosperous yeoman farmers, hardly moved beyond Cheriton Bishop and surrounding parishes (the last Gorwyn to farm in Cheriton Bishop died in 1952). The Trefebeles/Trebbles/Trebles, on the other hand, are only documented in Cheriton Bishop up to 1412 and moved on both geographically and socially. By the end of the fourteenth century, presumed offshoots of the family were appearing as clergymen in Cornwall and, in 1405, a Treble turned up as a tenant of the Fulford family in Somerset (the big landowning family of Fulford of Great Fulford had by this time acquired the manor of Lampford in Cheriton

Bishop and possibly cooperated in finding a new farm on one of their Somerset estates for a member of the Treble family). Another member of the family was the MP for Barnstaple in the 1420s; and in 1483 a Nicholas Treble was a warden at All Souls College, Oxford. By the seventeenth century the Trebles had disappeared from the Devon records.

TRENDS BETWEEN 1525 AND 1544

The two sixteenth-century lists of taxpayers indicate a surprising amount of turnover in the nineteen years between 1525 and 1544. Only thirteen names (30 per cent) of the 43 family names on the 1525 list were still there in 1544. There may have been an even greater degree of movement among the population as a whole, as those falling below the tax threshold would have included servants and apprentices, probably the most mobile sections of the population (although against this, it is possible that some families on the 1525 list may not have disappeared but may simply have slipped down the social scale to fall below the tax threshold in 1544). The disappearance of the old families between 1525 and 1544 was more than offset, however, by new arrivals in the parish, with twenty new names appearing for the first time in 1544.

The attrition of the 43 families living in Cheriton Bishop in 1525 continued apace over the next four centuries (Table 1).

Table 1: *Disappearance of families recorded in 1525*

1525	1544	1641	1660	1821	1901	1951
43 names	30 remain	13 remain	10 remain	6 remain	3 remain	1 remains

TRENDS BETWEEN 1544 AND 1641

Over the 97 years between the 1544 tax list and the 1641 Protestation Returns, 30 (39 per cent) of the names noted in 1544 had gone, a much lower rate of disappearance than in the previous period. At the same time, no fewer than 69 new names had appeared, bringing the total number of names up from 50 to 90. This increase is no doubt partly due to the fact that the sixteenth-century lists did not

include the very poorest members of the population, whereas the 1641 list included all adult males. But there seems little doubt that there was a significant increase in the population of the parish during this period. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a time of prosperity for Devon agriculture when farms were being expanded through the cultivation of previously waste land. A concomitant was the growth of a property-less class of farm labourers, many of whom were extremely mobile. Much of the movement in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries probably represented apprentices going elsewhere at the point when they finished their apprenticeship, and day-labourers moving from parish to parish (or from rural parish to town) in search of better work. Table 2 shows these trends as average annual rates.

Table 2: *Average annual rates of disappearance and appearance of names*

	1525–1544	1544–1641	1641–1660	1660–1821
Average number of names disappearing per annum (% turnover)	0.68 (1.85%)	*	1.80 (2.45%)	*
Average number of new names arriving per annum	1.05	0.72	3.37	0.63

** These figures have not been included, as figures ignoring incomers and people who came and went during the period over spans of time as lengthy as these would not yield a useful indication of trends. The figures on new names arriving also ignore those who came and went during the period.*

The lists bear out to some extent the assumption that the richer families, tied to the parish by their landholdings, are likely to be more persistent than the labouring classes. Between 1525 and 1544, 36 per cent of the 'stayers' were in the richer category compared to only 15 per cent of those who disappeared, although between 1544 and 1641 the equivalent figures were only 30 per cent and 35 per cent, not much of a difference, and continued movement among the landholding classes is indicated. The dissolution of the monasteries and the sale of the old monastic estates in Cheriton Bishop indirectly brought the well-known landowning Davy family (and probably also the Delve

family) into Cheriton Bishop (both names are there by 1641). The Fulfords of Great Fulford in neighbouring Dunsford also acquired new major land-holdings in the parish in the sixteenth century, again at least partly by picking up old monastic lands, and this may well have led some yeoman tenants from other parts of their large estates to take leases on Fulford-owned farms in Cheriton Bishop (the introduction of the three-life lease in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had made leasehold farms an attractive proposition).

Generally, however, I suspect that since medieval times there was always a permanent churning of yeoman families which made it the exception rather than the rule for a family to stay in the same parish for more than four or five generations. Some families simply died out in the male line; others (particularly younger sons) moved to neighbouring parishes on marriage or when they purchased, leased or inherited a farm there; and yet others fell on hard times and had to sell up. Many of the yeoman families did not go far, as the old Cheriton Bishop names turn up regularly in neighbouring parishes, and many of the new names in Cheriton Bishop also originate from nearby. For instance, names first appearing in Cheriton Bishop in the seventeenth century but dating back to 1332 in nearby South Tawton include Battishill (earlier Batteshulle), Discombe (Dysheliscombe), Colihall (Colehall) and Trend (Trenda).

TRENDS BETWEEN 1641 AND 1660

There were particularly large changes in the short period between 1641 and 1660, no doubt at least partly attributable to the disruption caused by the Civil War (Cheriton Bishop was near the action, if not part of it). 38 per cent (34) of the names on the 1641 list had disappeared by 1660; and no fewer than 64 new names had appeared. As shown in Table 2, there appears to have been a substantially higher rate of both disappearances and arrivals during this period, as well as a substantial increase in population. Whereas families seem to have been leaving or dying out at the rate of about one every two or three years in the preceding and succeeding periods, this leaps up to almost two families a year between 1641 and 1651; and the increase in the number of arrivals is even more startling. The latter may be partly explained by the fact that women were included in 1660 and not in 1641, but even so there appears to have been a surprisingly high

influx, with possibly as many as a fifth of those paying poll-tax in 1660 having been in the parish less than twenty years.

Social status as indicated by wealth or literacy does seem to have made a marked difference to mobility between 1641 and 1660. Whereas less than 10 per cent of the names disappearing from the parish over this period fall into the higher social category, about half the 'stayers' do so in one or other or both of the years in question. As regards new arrivals in 1660, only 14 per cent fall into the higher category.

TRENDS BETWEEN 1660 AND 1821

There are no comprehensive tax or census lists for the eighteenth century, so we have little knowledge about trends within this 161-year period. But taken as a whole, the period seems to have been one of considerable stability. To set the economic context, the Crediton cloth trade, which probably supported a cottage industry of weaving in the parish, was in decline, but there was renewed agricultural prosperity during the Napoleonic Wars. The village was fortunate enough, moreover, to benefit from the increase in coaching traffic, as its hamlet of Crockernwell was a perfect mid-point for the change of horses on what became in the eighteenth century the main road between Exeter and Okehampton and points west. A number of new businesses probably developed to serve the coaches and this may have attracted some new people in the second half of the eighteenth century.

There was a strong core of stable families, with a quarter of the names in 1660 still there in 1821. Again, the 'stayers' are slightly more likely to fall into the higher social category, but a number of the long-standing yeoman families also disappeared or moved from the parish during the period. Taking account of the fact that some 5 per cent of the names on the 1660 list were illegible, it looks as though about the same number of new names appeared (or reappeared) in 1821 as disappeared. Curiously, however, the figures indicate a substantial increase in population. As I have excluded under-sixteens from the 1821 census figures, the two lists should be exactly comparable; yet, there are 282 people on the 1660 list and 444 on the 1821 list, an increase of 57 per cent. This may be because the collectors of the 1660 poll-tax did a less-than-complete job. But there are indications that the size of families had grown, perhaps because more children were surviving to adulthood. Particularly among the yeomen, it was not

uncommon in 1821 for three or four children over sixteen years old to be living at home (and one family had no fewer than seven children living on the farm, ranging from sixteen to 35 in age). Tradesman and labourers rarely had more than one or two children over the age of sixteen living with them, but that was no doubt at least partly due to the fact that teenage children would have been put out to apprenticeship or service.

Although the table below (Table 3) stops in 1821, the census returns for the nineteenth century indicate that Cheriton Bishop, like the rest of the Devon countryside, suffered from the flight from the land, with its population declining sharply. It shrank by some 30 per cent between 1821 and 1841 alone. By 1901, only nineteen of the names mentioned in one or both of the seventeenth-century lists were still recorded in Cheriton Bishop: Ash, Blanchford, Bolt, Burgoyne, Chudley, Davy, Ellis, Ford, Gorwyn, Haydon, Heale, Hole, Hooper, Kellaway, Kemble, Lee, Newton, Parr and Plymsole (and not all of these families had necessarily lived continuously in the parish – some might have been people of the same name who had moved in from elsewhere, and not necessarily related to the seventeenth-century families).

THE MOST PERSISTENT FAMILIES

The six families that persisted from 1525 through until 1821 are Brimblecombe, Dicker, Gorwyn, Gribble, Ponsford and Preston. To these should perhaps be added the Burnells and Easterbrooks, in the parish from at least 1524 to 1723; the Murch family, first recorded in 1544 and also still there in 1821; and the Strong family, also first recorded in Cheriton Bishop in 1544 – although they had left Cheriton Bishop by 1821, they were (and are) still farming in the neighbouring parish of Drewsteignton.

It is quite hard to find any common characteristics that might account for the persistence of these families. Insofar as conclusions can be drawn, it seems, perhaps predictably enough, that the least-mobile families over the longer term tended to be the yeoman farmers who were numerous enough for there always to be sons to take over the family farms; and who also had enough landholdings or wealth to make farms available to more than one son. The Gorwyns are the easiest to document, and they certainly fit this model. They maintained an exceptional social stability as always among the richer people of

the parish, but never the richest; while none quite made it into the squirearchy, few slipped down the social scale. By 1821 there were five Gorwyn households in Cheriton Bishop, each farming a freehold or leasehold farm. The Strongs seem to have had a similar history.

The Gribbles, Dickers and Murches seem to have been the next most prosperous families before the nineteenth century, probably yeoman farmers on a smaller scale than the Gorwyns. One of the Murches was still a substantial farmer in 1821 (two servants and four apprentices were living on his premises). But the Dickers had taken to innkeeping and the main member of the Gribble family seems (judging by his address) to have been no more than a smallholder by 1821.

The Prestons and Ponsfords figured fairly consistently among the less-prosperous on the lists. The sole remaining Preston in 1821 was a cordwainer, and it seems possible that this family had a tradition of trade. While the Ponsfords of Cheriton Bishop seem always to have been towards the lower end of the social scale (the four Ponsfords in 1821 were all apprentices or servants), there was in parallel a large and prosperous yeoman family of that name, merging into gentry, in the neighbouring parish of Drewsteignton, also documented since 1524/5. They must originally have been connected, and the long-lasting social distinction between the Ponsfords in the two parishes is intriguing. By 1821, the Ponsfords were represented in Cheriton Bishop only by five apprentices or servants aged from eight up to twenty, spread out in households through the parish – possibly a single family who had lost both parents and been found parish apprenticeships.

OTHER SIMILAR STUDIES

How does Cheriton bishop compare to other areas? There is a useful survey of the existing literature in Malcolm Kitch's paper 'Population movement and migration in pre-industrial rural England' (Kitch, 1992). It seems that there are almost no studies of other places that cover such a long period, although a number of studies have looked at turnover over a much shorter period (mostly 10–20 years) in particular localities in other parts of the country. Most comparable as regards length of timeframe is a study of parish records of two Sussex villages between 1558 and 1812. These showed that around 70 per cent of the surnames persisted for only 25 years, and 91 per cent disappeared within 100 years. The studies covering a shorter period also show extremely high turnovers and Kitch (1992) concludes that

the annual turnover of village populations between the Elizabethan and Victorian periods was usually of the order of 4–6 per cent. On that basis, and even allowing for some understatement of the amount of migration, Cheriton Bishop represents an unusual degree of stability.

None of the comparable studies is of localities in Devon, however, and it is possible that rural Devon generally was more stable than most other areas (Kitch does cite one study that suggests that migration rates were lower in the West of England than in the East). For the 1525–1544 period, Stoate (1986) calculated that across the county 56 per cent of 1525 families were still in the same parish by 1644. But this figure concealed wide variations between parishes. Some 151 out of 362 parishes had 60 per cent or more of 'stayers'; and 51 of those had 70 per cent or more. So Cheriton Bishop, with 70 per cent of 'stayers' during that period, may not have been untypical other rural Devon parishes. A wider study of trends in Devon compared to those in other parts of the country would certainly appear to be worthwhile.

In line with the results for Cheriton Bishop, Kitch (1992) notes that those with ties to the land tended to be less mobile, but that there was nevertheless significant movement among farmers. He comments that the deep attachment to family holdings that was characteristic of many parts of rural Europe seems not to have been part of the culture of rural pre-industrial England.

ORIGINS OF THE NAMES

In 1332, almost all the people on the list are called after the places in Cheriton Bishop where they lived (one exception being Margaret Kelly, whose family took their name from the village of that name in West Devon). Not all the names necessarily represent farms; the names are in some cases more statements of where the person lived by reference to a geographical feature – at the ford, at the wood (*bearu or bear*), etc. How many of the people listed actually used the names as hereditary surnames, as opposed to 'by-names' attached to those particular people, is impossible to tell.

By the time of the 1525 Lay Subsidy, only two of the names listed can definitely be associated with places in Cheriton Bishop – Eggbear and Gorven, called after the farms still known by versions of those names today. About half of the other names on the 1525 list are

'locative' or 'topographical' – i.e. associated with places or geographical features. This is rather more than the 26 per cent average for Devon at the time (Postles, 1995), but is in line with what is typical for a parish largely consisting of widely scattered farmsteads. In some cases, the names can probably be identified with farms in nearby parishes, e.g. Lendon in neighbouring Dunsford, Horwell in Colebrooke (four miles away), Jurston in Chagford (seven miles) and Lustleigh (eight miles). Some seem to come further afield – Caselegh, for instance, could be associated with Plympton (30 miles); and Ponsford with Brampford Speke (eleven miles) or Cullompton (eighteen miles). But it is hard to situate many of the places, given the general Devonian unoriginality in the choice of place-names, with the same names recurring again and again all over the county. There are, for instance, numerous bramble valleys (Brimblecombe); priest's farms (Preston); flowing streams (Floud or Flood; OE *flode*); East brooks (Estabroke/Eastbrook/Easterbrook); and corners (Hele or Heale; OE *healh*). It is likely, for instance, that the Flouds and Prestons came from the eponymous farms in the neighbouring parishes of Hittisleigh or Drewsteignton, but *The Place-names of Devon* (Gover, Mawer and Stenton, 1931) lists three places deriving from *flode* and no fewer than ten Prestons, so there can be no certainty.

What of the other names in 1525? Two – Mortimer and Lucy – may be of Norman origin, the Cheriton Bishop inhabitants bearing those names possibly being off-shoots of the powerful Anglo-Norman families who were large landowners in the West of England in the period after the Conquest (although Mortimer could equally be a variant of Moreman, the man from the moor). A few names are nicknames, families condemned to carry ever afterwards the reminder of some physical peculiarity of their ancestor – Dicklegg (thick leg); Murch (dwarf); Longman; Strong. Another group consists of those families who have adopted a first or personal name, presumably that of an early ancestor – Benet (Benedict); Ellys; and Serell or Searle are examples (Devon, unlike many other parts of the country, tended to use the patronymic straight, rather than adopting the suffix *son*). Relatively few names seem to refer to professions, an example being Dyker/Dicker, which presumably refers to an ancestral digger of ditches.

By the time of the seventeenth-century lists, names associated with places have been overtaken by other types of name, especially by

those relating to professions (Bolt, Crocker, Dyer, Hooper, Tapper), and those based on personal names (Davy, Edmund, Edwards, Morice, Philips). It is obviously difficult to tell by their names where these new inhabitants hail from. However, there are still quite a few new locative names, some of which are associated with neighbouring parishes, including Collihall (probably Collihole in Chagford); Discombe (probably from Dishcombe in South Tawton, seven miles away); Elston (probably Elston near Knowle in Crediton Hamlets); and Puddicombe (probably from the farm of that name in Drewsteignton).

Most surnames were probably fixed by the beginning of the fifteenth century. It was not unknown, however, for new locative names to be adopted later for one reason or another. An example in Cheriton Bishop can be found in the numerous family of Gorven/Gorwyn. At the end of the sixteenth century, a branch of the family acquired the farm called Lambert (that gave its name to Antoninus de Lamford in 1332) and began using – somewhat sporadically at first – the form 'Gorwyn alias Lambert' or 'Lambert alias Gorwyn', and then plain Lambert or Lambert-Gorwyn, perhaps to distinguish themselves from the other branches of the family, including that still residing at Gorwyn.

The reverse trend of family names being given to properties, particularly anonymous smallholdings, seems to have been quite common. Most of these smallholdings have long since been subsumed into other properties and forgotten but, in old deeds, there is mention of such place-names in Cheriton Bishop as Ashes, Newtons, Tincombes and Tuckers, reflecting the lease or sale often many years previously of small plots of land to people of those names. Some go back a very long way: Tucker's Tenement is mentioned in some 1436 Chancery proceedings when it was occupied by a Nicholas Touker. Others are more recent: for instance, other Chancery proceedings show that the property that subsequently became Tincombes or Tincombes Tenement was originally a nameless plot of land and a house leased by the Gorwyn family out of their farm of Lambert to one Thomas Tincombe in 1664.

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I am indebted to Mr M. J. Treble C.B.E. for information on the Treffabele/Treble family.

Table 3:

1525 Lay Subsidy	**1544 lay Subsidy**	**1641 Protestation returns**	**1660 Poll Tax**	**1723 Oath of Loyalty**	**1821 Census**
Figures in brackets show the number of people on the list of that name. * one person of that name with goods worth £4 or more.	Figures in brackets show the number of people of that name on the list. * one person of that name with goods worth £4 or more.	Figures in brackets show the number of people on the list of that name. * one person of that name who signed his own name (others made a mark).	Figures in brackets show the number of people on the list of that name, including wives. * one person of that name with a yearly income of £5 or more.	Figures in brackets show the number of people of that name on the list, including wives. * one person of that name who signed his own name (others made a mark).	Figures in brackets show the number of people of that name of 16 and over[4], and then the number of households over which they are divided.[5] Visitors are excluded. * one head of household of that name who is a farmer/ land-owner.
		Aish, Aishe, Aysh (7)*	Aysh, Ayshe (11)*		Ash (6–5)
					Aggott (2–2)
					Anthers (3–1)
					Arden (1)
		Arnell[1] (3)*	Arnell (2)*		
					Arscott (7–7)
					Avory (4–2)
		Ballamie, Ballamy (2)			
					Baker (2–1)
Baron (1)	Baron (1)				
			Barrabell (1)		
					Barry (1)
			Bartlett (1)*		
			Batting (1)		
			Battishell (2)		
					Beer (8–3)
				Bellworthy (1)	

Table 3: *(Continued)*

1525 Lay Subsidy	1544 lay Subsidy	1641 Protestation returns	1660 Poll Tax	1723 Oath of Loyalty	1821 Census
Benet (1)		Bennet[1] (1)			Bennett (1)
			Bereman (1)		
		Bidgood (1)	Bidgood (3)		
		Binny (1)			
			Blacke (4)		
					Blackaller (1)
Blakdon, Blakedon (2)	Blackdon[1] (1)				
		Blanchyard, Blanchard (3)			Blanchford (4–2)*
Body, Bodye, Boode (3)					
		Bolt (2)	Bolt (5)		Bolt (12–5)**
		Bond (1)			
					Bradford (1)
			Bradley (1)		
		Bragge (2)	Bragg (3)*	Bragg (3)	
					Brewer (8–5)
					Brock (1)
					Brodenick (1)
					Brook (1)
Bremel-combe (1)	Bremel-combe (2)	Bremble-combe (1)	Bremble-combe (1)*		Brimblecomb (6–3)
Browne (1)					
			Browning (1)*[1]	Browning (1)	Browning (5–1)
			Browns-combe (1)	Browns-combe (2) Branscombe (1)	
Brown-wynde (1)	Browne-wynde (2)*				
		Buckingham (1)			

Table 3: *(Continued)*

1525 Lay Subsidy	1544 lay Subsidy	1641 Protestation returns	1660 Poll Tax	1723 Oath of Loyalty	1821 Census
					Bulliford (1)
Burgyn (1)	Burges (1)	Burgen (1)	Burgoyne (3)*		
Burnell (1)	Burnell[1] (1)	Burnell (1)	Burnell (6)*	Burnell (1)	
			Burrell (1)*		
Busell (1)					
	Butt (1)				
		Byshop (1)			
			Cally (2)		
		Can, Canne (2)*	Cann		Cann (5–3)
Caselegh (1)*	Caselegh (2)*				
					Causway (2–1)
			Chaning (1)		
					Chin (2–1)
		Chidlie (1)	Chudleigh (1)		Chudley (19–11)*
Chowlayshe, Cholayshe (2)	Cholasshe[1] (1)*				
		Claish (1)	Clash (3)		
					Clark (1)
			Cocke (1)		
		Cockerham (1)			Cockram (3–1)
		Collihall, Collehall (4)*	Collihole (5)**	Collihall (2)	
					Collins (1)
	Colman (1)				
			Colridge (2)		
					Connolly (2–1)
		Cotly (1)			
					Couch (2–1)

Table 3: *(Continued)*

1525 Lay Subsidy	1544 lay Subsidy	1641 Protestation returns	1660 Poll Tax	1723 Oath of Loyalty	1821 Census
		Crocker (1)			
			Croote (1)		
		Daimond (1)			
		Davie, Davy (3)***	Davie (5)***	Davy (1)	Davy (6–2)*
			Day (3)*		
		Delves (2)**	Delve (3)**		
Dyker (1)*[2]	Deker[1] (2)	Dicker (3)*	Dicker (6)*		Dicker (6–2)
		Dickelegg, Dicklegg, Dickleg (6)	Dicklegg (5)*		
		Dier, Dyer (2)			
		Discombe, Discomb (4)	Discombe (4)**		Discomb (2–1)
					Drew (5–2)
			Dunsford (1)		Dunsford (1)
		Earle (1)	Earell (1)		
Estbroke (1)	Estbroke (3)	Eastbrooke (1)	Eastabrooke (3)	Eastabrooke, Easterbrook (1)*	
			Easton* (1)		
		Edmund (1)			
			Edwards (2)		
Egbear, Egbeare[2] (3)*	Eggbear (1)*				
Ellacote (1)	Elecote (1)				
Ellys, (2)	Elis, Elys (2)	Ellys (1)	Ellice (2)		
		Elson, Elston (2)	Elston (1)		Elston, Alston (12–6)
			Emmet (2)		
			Evings (1)		
			Farnie (1)		
Faye (1)					
					Fewins (4–1)

Table 3: *(Continued)*

1525 Lay Subsidy	1544 lay Subsidy	1641 Protestation returns	1660 Poll Tax	1723 Oath of Loyalty	1821 Census
					Finch (2–1)
			Fitzgeffery (1)		
Flode (2)*	Flud, Fludd[1] (4)	Floud (1)*		Floud (1)	
			Foard (3)		
					Foulkes (1)*
			Froste (2)*	Frost (2)	
			Fulford (1)		
		Furse (3)**	Furse, Fursse (3)	Furse (1)	
		Gale (2)	Gale (1)		
					Gauze (2–1)
			Gay (1)		
					Geese (1)
					Goring (1)
Gorven, Gor-rin (7)**	Gorffen[1] (2)*	Gorwyn, Gorven, Goruen (5)***	Gorwyn, Gor-ven (16)***		Gorwyn[3] (14–5)*****
					Goss (2–1)
			Gould (1)		
					Granger (1)
					Green (4–3)
					Greenslade (1)
Grebil (1)*	Grybell, Grebell[1] (3)	Grible (4)*	Gribble (6)*	Gribbell (1)	Gribble (3–2)
					Groves (2–1)
		Grundon, Grunden (2)*	Grindon, Gren-don (3)*		Grendon (2–1)*
		Gubbins (2)	Gubbings (2)		
					Guscott (8–3)**
					Hallant (1)
	Hamlen (1)*				Hamlin (2)
					Hart (1)

Table 3: *(Continued)*

1525 Lay Subsidy	1544 lay Subsidy	1641 Protestation returns	1660 Poll Tax	1723 Oath of Loyalty	1821 Census
					Hatherley (1)
Hele (1)*			Heale (2)	Heale, Hele (2)	Heale (3–1)
			Heard (2)		
					Heath (3–2)
		Herdan (1)*			Haydon (11–3)***
			Hewlett (1)		Hewitt (1)
			Hill (1)		Hill (7–4)
					Hirtzell (9–5)
					Hitchins, Hutchins (7–3)*
			Hole (1)		Hole (7–3)*
			Holman (2)		
		Howe (1)			
		Hooper, Hoop (2)*	Hooper (1)		
Horwyll (4)	Horwell, Horewell[1] (4)				
					Howard (4–2)
				Hunt (1)*	
					Husson (2–1)
					Ireland (1)
			Jacobb (1)		
					James (8–4)
			Jeffery (1)		
			Jordon (2)	Jordan (1)*	
Jurston (1)					
			Kellway (1)		Kellaway (3–2)
			Kensole (1)		Kenshole (2–1)*
	Keyte (1)				
					Kimble, Kemble (4–2)**

Table 3: *(Continued)*

1525 Lay Subsidy	1544 lay Subsidy	1641 Protestation returns	1660 Poll Tax	1723 Oath of Loyalty	1821 Census
Kyngswell (1)*					
		Knight[1] (1)	Knigh (1)		
Lake (1)*	Lake[1] (1)	Lake (1)			
				Lamcroft (1)	
					Lampey (4–1)
	Lane (1)*	Lane (1)			
					Laskey (2–1)
					Leach (5–1)*
		Lee (1)	Lee (1)*		Lee (1)
Legge (2)	Legg (2)				
			Lethbridge (2)		
Lettoute (1)					
			Libbett (1)		
		?Linch (1)			
		Linscott (1)			
		Longe (1)	Long (1)		
		Longman (1)	Langman (2)		
					Loram (2–1)
					Lott (2–1)
					Lucas (3–2)
Lucye (1)	Lucy (1)				
Lynedon (1)	Lynedon, Lyndon (2)*				Lendon (3–2)
		?Lyne (1)			
		Maior (1)	Mare (3)		
	Man (1)				
		Mannyng (1)			
					Mardon (1)
					Martin (2–1)
					Matthews (3–3)
		Maye (1)	May (1)		

Table 3: *(Continued)*

1525 Lay Subsidy	1544 lay Subsidy	1641 Protestation returns	1660 Poll Tax	1723 Oath of Loyalty	1821 Census
		Milford (2)			Milford (7–3)
		Moore (1)	Moore, More (3)		Moore (3–2)
Moreman (1)					
		Morice, Morrice (2)	Morrice, Morris (7)*	Morrice (2)	
	Mortymer (1)	Mortimer, Mortymer (4)	Mortimore (2)		
			Moxsey (1)		
		Muddeford (1)			
					Mudge (2–1)
	Murche (1)	Murch (2)	Murch (2)*		Murch (4–1)*
			Murgon (1)		
					Narraway (1)
		Newton (1)	Newton (2)		Newton (1)
Nordon (1)					
Northwood (1)	Northwode (1)				
		Nosworthy (2)**	Nosworthy (4)*		
			Nycholls (2)*		
					Oads (3–2)
		Orchard, Orchyard[1] (3)	Orchard (5)*	Orchard (2)*	
					Osborne (7–2)
Oxenbere (1)	Oxenbear (1)				
			Palmer (2)		Parmer (7–5)
	Parke (1)				
		Parker (1)*			Parker (2–1)
		Parr, Parre (2)	Pare (1)	Parr (1)	Parr * (5–2)
					Parrott (2–1)
					Partridge (2–1) *

Table 3: *(Continued)*

1525 Lay Subsidy	1544 lay Subsidy	1641 Protestation returns	1660 Poll Tax	1723 Oath of Loyalty	1821 Census
					Passmore (4–2)
				Perry (1)*	
			Philipps (1)		
					Pitts (4–1)
		Plymsoll (3)	Plimpshole (1)		
					Pollard (1)
Ponsforde (1)	Paunsford, Paunesford (2)	Ponsford (1)	Pansford (1)*		Ponsford (2–1)
Pope (1)	Pope (3)*				
					Popman (1)
				Potter (1)	
			Powell (3)		
					Pozeland (1)
Preston (1)	Pryston (1)	Preston[1] (3)	Preston (4)		Preston (2–1)
			Prowse (1)		
		Puddecombe (2)	Puddicombe (2)		
	Pym[1] (1)*				
		Pythebridge (1)			
		Radford (1)	Radford (2)		
			Ratcliffe (2)*		
			Rattenb----, Rottenbury (2)		
					Raymond (6–4)
			Reede (2)		Reed (1)
					Robins (4–3)
		Roe (1)	Rowe (3)	Row (1)	
					Rogers (4–3)
Roke (1)					
		Rowden (1)			

Table 3: *(Continued)*

1525 Lay Subsidy	1544 lay Subsidy	1641 Protestation returns	1660 Poll Tax	1723 Oath of Loyalty	1821 Census
					Saffin (2–1)
	Serell (1)	Searle (1)	Sarell (2)		
			Satturley (1)		
			Seaward (2)		
					Setter (9–4)
					Shepherd (1)
Sherlonde (1)	Shorlond, Shorlonde (2)				
Shetyl (1)					
Shylstone (3)*	Shilleston[1] (3)***				
			Slade (1)		
					Slokam (1)
				Smale (3)	Smale (2–1)
Smalrigge (1)	Smallrudge (1)				
	Smyth (1)				Smith (5–1)*
			Snell (2)		Snell (2–1)*
		Snowe (1)*	Snowe (2)		
		Speare (1)	Speere (2)		
	Speke (1)				
Squyer (1)	Squyre (2)				
	Stabback (1)*	Stabbacke (2)	Stabbacke (2)*		
			Staddon (1)		
					Steer (2–1)*
					Stephens (1)
					Stone (1)
				Stoneham (2)	
			Stooke (1)*		
			Story (1)		
	Strang (1)*	Strong, Stronge[1] (2)	Strong (8)**	Strong, Strang (2)*	
	Swaineston (1)				

Table 3: *(Continued)*

1525 Lay Subsidy	1544 lay Subsidy	1641 Protestation returns	1660 Poll Tax	1723 Oath of Loyalty	1821 Census
					Tancock (6–2)
		Tapper[1] (1)	Tapper (2)		
			Taylor (1)		
	Teyngcombe (1)		Tyncombe (2)	Tincombe (1)	
					Torrington (1)
					Tothill (3–1) (vicar & family)
	Trend (1)	Trend (2)	Trend (1)		
					Triggs (1)
	Trowe[1] (1)	Troro (1)			
			Tucker (1)		
		Tymlet (1)			
		Underhill (2)*			
		Upton (1)		Upton (2)*	
		Vennard (1)			
					Vickery (1)
			Vincombe, Vinnicombe (2)		Vinecomb, Vineycomb (3–2)
			Vogwell (1)		
	Vyne (1)				
				Walkey (1)*	
			Warde (1)		
		Ware (1)* (curate)			
					Warren (1)
		Way (1)			
					Webber (1)
					Wedlake (4–2)
				Westaway (1)	
					Western (1)
		Willyams (1)	Williams (1)		
					Woodley (1)

Table 3: *(Continued)*

1525 Lay Subsidy	1544 lay Subsidy	1641 Protestation returns	1660 Poll Tax	1723 Oath of Loyalty	1821 Census
					Woolland (3–2) *
					Wrayford (9–2) *
					Wright (2–1)
					Yennacott (1)
				Yelland (1)	Yolland (6–3)
65 people	**77 people**	**154 people**	**282 people**		**752 people**
					(including under-16s and visitors)
43 names+1 name missing	**50 names+1 illegible (30 old names from 1525, 20 new)**	**90 names (20 old names from 1544, 70 new)**	**120 names+14 lost or illegible (56 old names from 1641, 64 new)**		**131 names (excluding under-16s & visitors) (30 old names from 1660, 101 new)**
Coverage: those over 16 with goods or annual wages of £1 or more	**Coverage: those over 16 with goods of £1 or more.**	**Coverage: males over 18**	**Coverage: everybody over 16**	**Coverage: signed by about 20% of the adult population of Devon**	**Coverage: entire population**

NOTES

1. These names also appear on the Lay Subsidy list of 1581. Taxpayers in that year were restricted to those with goods worth £3 or more or land with an annual income of £1 or more, so effectively the more prosperous members of the population. Names mentioned in 1581, but not on other lists are: Gilberte, Heywood and Battin (although this is probably the same as Batting on the 1660 list). Cholayshe/Cholashe and Claish/Clash are assumed to be separate names, but Claish could be a later corruption of Cholayshe.
2. A 1428 list of freeholders in the Manor of Eggbeer (part of Cheriton Bishop) in *Feudal Aids* includes a Thomas Dekere and a Henry Eggbeer.
3. This includes some members of the Gorwyn family who had adopted the name Lambert (subsequently transmuted into Lambert-Gorwyn).
4. Also includes a few people for whom no age is given.
5. The figures for households do not add up to the total number of households as many people are living in the households of others as apprentices,

servants or lodgers. The total number of families or households recorded in the census is 142.

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